

# Racial Ratios

Senator Russell's "Share the Negroes Bill of 1949" is a measure which, he says, "should strongly appeal to all social-minded people." We are in some doubt as to just what he means by "social-minded people," and the dictionary isn't of much help. Apparently he has in mind some population group that includes himself but not us. For the bill, or rather its transparent motivation, doesn't appeal to us at all.

The Senator from Georgia is most generous—in a way. He would not, of course, think of sharing with the Negroes of the South such civil rights as the vote, equal and unsegregated education and employment and housing, or equal protection of the law. But he wants in "common fairness" to share with all the other States statistically measured portions of the South's Negro population. To accomplish this end he would set up a Federal voluntary racial relocation commission and authorize appropriations to it of four billion dollars over the next 4½ years. The commission would undertake to resettle anyone who wanted to move elsewhere—with proper attention to racial ratios—and see that each one got better housing and a better job in the new spot than he had before.

Senator Russell has tabulated from the last census just how many Negroes might be moved into or out of each of the 48 States to achieve proportionately equal distribution. For some reason he neglected to calculate a figure for the District of Columbia. But since the general idea is that the population of each State should be about 10 per cent Negro, the District would be an emigrant area along with 13 Southern and border States. About two thirds of our Negro citizens would have to elect to depart—and be replaced by incoming whites—if Washington were to conform to the Senator's arithmetical "solution" of the problem of racial equality.

This problem, he says, has "unfairly burdened" the South for the past 83 years. And the unfairness of it, though he would deny this, is measured in his claim that during this period the system of segregation "has been painfully created . . . by people of both races." Painfully, yes; with most of the pain suffered by the Negroes. And excruciatingly painful now, too. For it obviously hurts Senator Russell to think of Negroes enjoying the same rights and privileges he does. It hurts him so much, in fact, that as far as he is concerned the civil rights program will lead directly and simul-

taneously to racial strife and intermarriage.

**Racial Relocation Plan**  
I note through the press that Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia has introduced a bill to move 1,500,000 Negro families from the South to the North, on a purely voluntary basis.

The people of Georgia are very well satisfied with the Negro inhabitant of our section and in no way could the whites from the North take the place of the place of the whites of the North. I will give the credit to the Negro for making the large plantation owners of my county wealthy and today if these Negro families were to migrate to the North our agriculture development would suffer very much.

I grant that Senator Russell wants to adjust this much talked of civil rights bill that seems to be taking the spotlight in Washington and he probably thinks this system would make the Northern residents be more familiar with our Negro populace in Georgia, but I venture to say that there would be very few Negro families to accept this relocation of their future homes, as they are adapted to the deep South.

MACK STRICKLAND  
Buckeye, Ga.

## Senate Gets Bill To Send South's Negroes North

Georgian Would 'End' Bias by 'Trading' Them for White Northern Workers

By David McConnell  
New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27.—Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, offered a multi-billion-dollar plan today to solve the problem of racial discrimination by swapping hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes for Northern white workers.

As he introduced his bill in the Senate, Mr. Russell said the plaguing racial problem could be erased by scattering large concentrations of Negroes from the South among Northern communities which have only a small percentage of racial minorities in their populations. He described the bill as his answer to demands of both Democrats and Republi-

cans for passage of strong civil rights legislation to protect racial minorities.

Senator Russell, head of the Southern Senate coalition opposing civil rights legislation, emphasized that his plan would operate on a voluntary basis.

The Russell bill calls for an initial appropriation of \$500,000,000 to start the program this year and subsequent allocations of \$1,000,000,000 annually for the following four years. It would set up an independent agency—the Voluntary Racial Relocation Commission—with three members to administer the program.

The introduction of the bill today was accompanied by a lengthy explanation by Mr. Russell on the Senate floor. It was coolly received by Administration Democrats and Republicans who currently are battling to pave the way for speedy passage of a strong civil rights program by forcing Senate adoption of an anti-filibuster resolution.

Senator Russell told the Senate that President Truman's indorsement of a strong civil rights program has "made a national political issue of social, racial and economic problems which have for more than eighty years, unfairly burdened that section of the nation generally called the South."

He said persons living in communities where from 1 to 5 per cent of the population are Negroes see segregation differently from those living in areas where racial minorities run to 50 or 60 per cent or "even 75 per cent" of the population. He indicated that Southern whites feel an effective way of keeping control when they are in the minority is through segregation.

Senator Russell said eleven Southern states have more than 75 per cent of all the Negroes living in the United States. He added that in 182 Southern counties Negroes outnumber whites.

## Russell Asks U. S. Help Negroes To Move North and Whites South

Georgian Files Senate Bill for \$4,500,000,000 Program to Spur Migration—Action Held Gesture in War on Truman Program

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27.—Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat, of Georgia, introduced today a bill for a \$4,500,000,000 program to encourage and assist the migration of Negroes from the South and of

whites to that region.

The measure, considered to have little chance of favorable consideration, was regarded as a gesture to point up the South's position on President Truman's civil rights program.

Mr. Russell, a leader of the Senate bloc that is fighting that program and the related drive to curb filibusters, nevertheless made it clear that he was convinced of the idea's value.

He told the Senate:

"If the rest of the nation is determined to force its views upon the Southern people and use the Federal power to revolutionize the political and social relations between the races in the South, and destroy the social order in which our people believe, common fairness would demand that they assist in equalizing our racial problem with that of the rest of the nation."

"This will enable those who believe in the program to make a contribution to its success and fulfillment equal to that they propose to require of those who oppose it."

"It would be manifestly un-American for the rest of the country to compel the white people of the South by Federal fiat to associate in the most intimate relations of life, and perhaps eventually absorb, a much higher proportion of Negroes than they themselves will have an opportunity to accept and absorb."

The bill would create a commission to arrange transportation, housing and jobs for individuals and families wishing to improve their economic lot by migration. Grants and loans would be authorized. In addition, the commission could make loans of \$10,000 or less to employers for each migrant employed.

Eventually, Mr. Russell estimated, the voluntary population movement would result in the "equitable distribution" of Negroes and whites. Negroes, under the plan, ultimately would comprise about 10 per cent of each state's population. He said this would entail the relocation of about 1,500,000 families. At present more than 75 per cent of the country's Negroes live in eleven Southern states.

The bill would authorize the appropriation of \$500,000,000 for the first year and \$1,000,000,000 for each of the succeeding four years.

## Racial Redistribution

Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL of Georgia has introduced a bill proposing substantial redistribution of negroes and whites as one means of solving the race problem. He suggests Government assistance for shifting 1,500,000 negro families to the North and a comparable number of whites to the South to take their places. He would set up an independent Federal agency to work out and administer such a program, with the proviso, of course, that everything would be on a voluntary basis for the individuals concerned.



Senator RUSSELL's proposal asks a question that demands an answer. For various reasons there is a need for satisfactory redistribution of the races. There is even greater need for proper adjustment of race problems. The new approach offers a wonderful opportunity for Northern and Western protestants against conditions as they claim they exist in the South. Instead of standing isolated on peaks of theoretical wisdom and virtue, they may now descend to the plains where real effort is under way.

No one has been more effervescently vocal on the subject of so-called civil rights than Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. According to the 1940 census, Minnesota had fewer than 10,000 negroes from a total population of nearly 3,000,000. In the same year, for example, Mississippi had more than a million negroes out of a total population of about 2,184,000. Minnesota is a state blessed in many ways, a land of fine opportunity, with a senator who knows just what to do about the race problem.

If millions of negroes are remaining in the South merely for lack of funds and jobs elsewhere, what could be more fitting than that Senator HUMPHREY aid in getting them under his wing in fact as well as in speeches? There are any number of other examples comparable, notably the State of Oregon and its Senator WAYNE MORSE. If the negroes down South are so woefully off, and if they classify as displaced persons, Senator RUSSELL has pointed the way to Senator HUMPHREY et al.

There are doubtless an entirely adequate number of whites who would like to settle here in the South. This entire section is developing rapidly into an era of balanced economy that offers splendid opportunities in decentralized industry, diversified agriculture and service employment. At any rate, Senator RUSSELL has placed a stamp on the fact that racial matters are a national and not a sectional problem.

## Georgia Senator Offers Bill to Trade Southern Negroes for Northern Whites

WASHINGTON (ANP) — Senator Russell of Georgia offered a gigantic \$500,000,000 swap plan of Southern Negroes for Northern whites to end the racial problem, last week, in a bill to Congress.

His plan called for the movement of 1,500,000 Negro families from the South to various sections of the North and a shift of a like number of whites from the North to the South to replace the colored

To finance the program in its first year, the senator asked for \$500,000,000, to be increased to a billion dollars for each of the next two years. By this time he expects the program to be completed.

Russell's action frankly was a program to counter the proposed civil rights action. He raged before the Senate:

"The majority of the people in the South believe in their present social order based on segregation.

They abhor the idea of solving the racial problem by amalgamation. They consider this to be mongrelization of both races and they are unalterably opposed to a solution.

To halt "northern interference," Russell's bill calls for a voluntary racial relocation commission to "draw up and handle" the program "to encourage and assist" Negroes and whites who wanted to move.

Races would move to states where their proportion is below normal (about 10 per cent Negro) for the nation. In this way, Russell would give each state the same proportion of Negroes as the rest of the nation.

Duties of the commission would be to insure loans to help migrants pay transportation and readjustment costs, provide transportation, subsistence and housing for migrants at low cost, make grants when necessary for such expenses and to seek help from business firms in finding jobs and making loan to migrants.

Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, called this bill "a gesture," and added that Negro rights should be protected in Georgia as well as in the north.

## Georgian Asks North-South Swap Peoples

Senator Wants Negroes Moved By Government In 'Common Fairness'

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27—(AP)—A Georgia senator fighting the Truman civil rights program today proposed a gigantic swap of populations between North and South.

Under his plan, the federal government would finance an exodus of up to 1,500,000 Negro families from South to North, and a shift of Northern white people to Dixie to take their places.

Senator Russell (D), Georgia, made the proposal, coupling it with an attack on the Truman civil rights plan, which calls for federal laws against lynching and the poll tax, and against discrimination in employment and on interstate transportation facilities.

Seriousness In Doubt

The immediate reaction on Capitol Hill was that Russell had little hope of serious action on his plan, though he told reporters he expected most Southern senators to support it. His aim was be-

lieved to be to throw down the gauntlet against what he called "Northern interference" with the South.

In New York, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, described Russell's measure as "purely a gesture." He said the rights of Negroes should be protected in Georgia as in the North.

Russell said the proposed huge-scale exodus of Negroes to states north of the Mason-Dixon line would be on a purely voluntary basis. They could go, aided by federal funds, or stay as they chose.

He said it would also enable Northern whites to move at government expense into Southern states to fill the gap left by the Negro migration.

\$500 Million Needed

The Georgian called for an initial appropriation of \$500,000,000 to finance the program through the rest of fiscal 1949, ending next June 30. Thereafter, he said, it would cost \$1,000,000,000 for each of the next four fiscal years.

In a speech on the Senate floor, Russell told his colleagues:

"The majority of the people in the South believe in their present social order based on segregation.

"They abhor the idea of solving the racial problem by amalgamation. They consider this to be mongrelization of both races and they are unalterably opposed to such a solution."

Asks 'Common Fairness'

Russell contended that if Northerners are determined to force their views on the South, then "common fairness would demand that they assist in equalizing our racial problem with that of the rest of the nation."

Citing the "great unbalance" between the number of Negroes in the 11 Southern states and those in the North, Russell said:

"It would be manifestly unfair and un-American for the rest of the country to compel the white people of the South by federal fiat to associate in the most intimate relations of life, and perhaps eventually to absorb, a much higher proportion of Negroes than they themselves will have an opportunity to accept and absorb."

Russell's bill would set up a voluntary racial "relocation" commission as an independent federal agency. The program would not apply to any state which did not agree to it.

The first story, announcing that Russell was considering such a bill appeared in The Atlanta Constitution. Jan. 1-27-49

in the employment or business communities of each person assisted are greater than before."

WASHINGTON—A \$4,500,000,000 "racial relocation" bill was introduced in the Senate yesterday by Sen. Russell, Democrat, Georgia.

Negroes desiring to benefit under the act, Russell explained, would be distributed on a basis of approximately 10 percent in each State.

"When the United States is using its wealth and resources to solve the problems of the people of the earth who live in foreign lands," he told the Senate, "this relocation of a million and one half American families becomes comparatively a minor matter. The cost is small compared to the great benefits which will accrue."

"The Civil Rights Program has been seized upon by subversive elements who seek to sow discord in the land and by those who seek to establish state socialism in these United States. The passage of this measure will assist in maintaining the sovereignty of the State and lengthening the life of our American system of free enterprise."

The Commission set up to supervise the program would be charged with the duty of seeing that the housing and living facilities of any family relocated are superior to the facilities it enjoyed before relocation and that the economic status of the American people.

The bill proposes the loan of \$10,000 to employers for each relocated person hired under terms superior to the measure. Funds would also be

## Redistribution of Negroes Proposed In Russell Bill Offered in Senate



# Advised And Unrealistic Project

There has just been announced the formation of an organization under the name of three men in Goldsboro, N. C. which is very likely to become the lambasted and least popular body of its kind in the entire universe.

Called the Safe and Sane Advisers, Teachers, and Leaders of the American Colored Population, Incorporated, it sets off to a bad start with its grue-somely long and unwieldy title. Even alphabetized, it's gosh-awful: SSATLACPI.

It proposes to transport the entire American Negro population to foreign shores.

Any such project at this late date is no more realistic than the Back-to-Africa movement pioneered by MARCUS GARVEY and later embraced by the late SENATOR BILBO of Mississippi.

This newspaper is convinced that, whatever the motivations, reasons, or rationalizations offered for Back-to-Africa and Forty-Ninth State projects and their variants, are unrealistic and unrealizable.

The new organization has already achieved more publicity in the daily press than eminently more substantial and sensible Negro projects have, and doubtless will enlist the backing and hurrahs of those whites who wish to solve the interracial problem in any but the inevitable, democratic way. The reasons are obvious: The SSATLACPI organizers announce a platform including:

- (1) Support of racial segregation.
- (2) Eventual movement of the entire colored population of the United States to South America.
- (3) Acknowledgment of "futility" of Negro efforts to obtain equal rights in this country.
- (4) To promote "mutual respect, goodwill, and friendship between the white and colored races."
- (5) Wealthy (sic) Negroes should give up any idea of establishing themselves on a par with whites in this country.
- (6) Living in harmony for the time being with white people.
- (7) Definite opposition to any

removal of segregation and inter-marriage barriers.

This pessimistic, desperate, discouraged, discouraging, and craven view of manifold and admittedly complex problems is the voice of futility and despair. It acknowledges impliedly that all of the traditional and historic reasons used by one group to justify oppressing and degrading another are either right or immutable.

To this attitude this newspaper simply cannot adhere. We don't believe anyone who has thought through the whole issue can subscribe to it either.

Furthermore, M. D. WHITE, DR. J. E. GREEN, and the REV C. B. SIMMONS—the trio who formed SSATLACPI—have picked South America as the place "where Negroes will be able to go aboard their own Mayflower and sail away to their own Plymouth Rock, where among their own people they can achieve all the greatness and nobility of which their nature is capable."

The Goldsboro gloomy gusses haven't, evidently, read about the economic, educational, political, health, and other shortcomings of most South American republics.

The project is, in a word, asinine. It deserves to be abandoned before any more harm is done.

## Senator Russell Sounds Off

ALL of us know where Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia stands on the Negro. He is urging expenditure of \$4,500,000,000 to encourage and assist the migration of Negroes from the South and whites from elsewhere to the South can be no surprise to the informed.

The Senator asserts that "it would be manifestly un-American for the rest of the country to compel the white people of the South by Federal fiat to associate in the most intimate relations of life, and perhaps eventually absorb, a much higher proportion of Negroes than they themselves will have an opportunity to accept and absorb."

So, says he, "This will enable those who believe in the (civil rights) program to make a contribution to its success and fulfillment equal to that they propose to require of those who oppose it."

Of course, this is demagogic nonsense but there can be no doubt that the Georgia Senator speaks for a large proportion of

his white constituents and large numbers of those in neighboring States, and for that reason what he proposes, even though a legislative device, cannot be ignored or scoffed away.

This sort of thing is in the air in many parts of the world these days, as we know from similar tragic occurrences in Europe and India where hapless millions of people have been ruthlessly shifted about since the end of the war and even before it started, and at the behest of people like Senator Russell.

We have not the slightest idea that such an appropriation will be passed by Congress or signed by the President but there can be no doubt that it is a dangerous idea to be bandied about by the large Ku Klux-minded element in the American population, North as well as South.

For this reason Negroes should be on the alert and summon all of their intelligence and resources to smash this proposal, because while Russell's bill will get nowhere, its propaganda effect is bound to be great.

The situation is not helped by the loud-mouthed demagogues in our midst who are forever urging Negroes to leave the South, and thus helping to undermine the natural Negro resistance to such a nefarious proposal.

There would be less reason to be concerned about such a vicious proposal if it were unprecedented in American history but we have before us the record of ruthless deportations of Indians and Japanese-Americans, and even during the recent war no less an authority than the Attorney General of the United States (Mr. Biddle), suggested that migrant Negroes in Northern cities like Detroit, where there had been racial clashes, be returned to their original Southern homes.

While there is no cause for panic in this proposal, there is definitely cause for apprehension, considering the fact that the veneer of civilization is pretty thin in the United States with its tradition of violence, intolerance and bigotry.

The South is as much the home of the Negroes as it is of the whites, and even more so, because the labor, skill, intelligence and patience of the Negroes gave the South the foundation for whatever civilization it can boast.

Nobody, not even Mr. Russell's Ku Klux Klan, is going to compel one Negro to leave his homeland who does not want to leave.

Negroes will fight for their freedom as much today as they have in the past, and they are not frightened by the Georgia Senator's fulminations which only make

them more than ever determined to fight out of the issue of democracy on their own soil.

## Thinks Humphreys An 'Opportunist'

Senator Would Do Anything  
For Votes,' Says Writer

Commercial Appeal

The Minneapolis Morning Tribune of this date carries a quote from your paper in which you state that Georgia's senator, R. B. Russell, offers a bill to redistribute a substantial part of our negro and white population, the senator asking for a shifting of 1,500,000 negro families to the North and the same number of whites to the South.

According to the Tribune, you remark that in Senator Hubert Humphrey Minnesota has a senator who knows just what to do about the race problem. What you evidently do not know is that Senator Humphrey would do anything to gain a few votes or to gain publicity for himself. In other words, the senator is a deep-dyed politician who cares nothing about anything except the advancement of his own personal self.

Now please, we have all the negroes up in this part of the country that we want and don't want any more.

As late as 1863 Abraham Lincoln advocated the colonization of the negroes WITHOUT the United States. That this should have been done is no question and I believe that every effort should be made to persuade the negroes to emigrate from the United States back to Africa. I believe that the United States could well afford to pay each negro a bonus who would so emigrate.

THEODORE W. THOMSON,  
Midland Bank Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Would Move Negroes to North Southern Senator Proposes Program

WASHINGTON — (AP) — A Georgia senator fighting the Truman civil rights program proposed a gigantic swap of populations between North and South.

He coupled it with an attack on the Truman civil-rights plan, hope of serious action on his plan, though he told reporters he expected most southern Senators to support it.

Under his plan, the Government would finance an exodus of up to 1,500,000 Negro families from south to north and shift northern white people to Dixie to take their places.

SENATOR RUSSELL (D., Ga.) made the proposal.

The immediate reaction on Cap-



# WOULD MOVE NEGRO FAMILIES NORTH

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1-1-49  
A multi-million dollar program to move as many

as 1,500,000 Negro families from the South to the North was proposed to Congress last week.

The shift, outlined in a bill by Senator Russell, Democrat of Georgia, would be on a purely voluntary basis. The program also would pave the way for white persons to move from the North into the Southern states to fill the population gap left by the Negro migration. 2-2-49

Russell's bill would establish a voluntary racial-relocation commission as an independent federal agency. Its job would be to draw up and handle a program to "encourage and assist" members of both races to move from states where their racial group is above normal in respect to total population. They would go into states where the proportion is below normal. 2-2-49

The bill says the program would not be applicable to any state which did not agree to it, either through action of its Legislature or the governor.

Russell would authorize an appropriation of \$500,000,000 for the program for the remainder of the 1949 fiscal year ending next July 1, and \$1,000,000,000 for each of the four succeeding fiscal years.

## Europeans Would Replace Citizens

Baltimore Md.  
Federal Aid Needed for New Hate Scheme  
2-1-49  
MUDD PLAN

Whites Also May Be Moved to Other Areas

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (ANP)—A bill encouraging mass migration of colored citizens from the South similar to a plan advocated by a local attorney, Joseph P. Mudd,

will be introduced to the Senate, Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia said in a letter last week.

According to Mudd, Senator Russell's aid, Leeman Anderson sent him a letter approving his plan for the Federal Government to subsidize those who wished to leave the South for another area where they may have more opportunities.

Under the Mudd plan, colored persons would "voluntarily" leave southern States to areas with comparatively few colored people and be replaced by immigrants from Europe. The Federal government would help the migrants financially until they had settled down.

### For Underprivileged

Anderson wrote:

As you may know, the Senator has prepared a bill designed to help the underprivileged of both races by assisting them in relocating where they will have more desirable living standards and job opportunities, with the general purpose of equalizing the distribution of colored persons throughout the nation.

"It proposes, also, to move white people who desire it in an effort to maintain a fair balance of population," it was explained.

Others seemingly interested in the Mudd scheme are Sen. Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, and Gov. Ben T. Laney of Arkansas.